

Daniel Bensaïd: A bibliography (English and other languages)

Thursday 28 February 2008, by [ROUSSET Pierre](#) (Date first published: 22 September 2009).

This bibliography will be regularly completed. Many writings of the author have been and will be posted online on ESSF website. To get its updated list, click on this link : [BENSAÏD Daniel](#).

The * means that the text is available on ESSF website.

Priority is given in the bibliographical notice to texts which are not (yet) posted on our website.

Listed below are writings published in English and other non-French languages.

To consult the more numerous list of publications in French, click here : [Daniel Bensaïd : une bibliographie \(publications en français\)](#)

in German: [Veröffentlichungen von Daniel Bensaïd auf Deutsch](#)

and also for the langages of South-West Europe: [Daniel Bensaïd : bibliografía parcial en español, português, catalán, euskara, italiano...](#)

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This is only a very beginning. Most books are still missing and many more articles from Bensaïd can be found on ESSF website alone! This bibliography will be developped ASAP.

Last additions: January 18, 2012

Books

— *Marx for Our Times: Adventures and Misadventures of a Critique*, London, Verso. 2002, 1st Edition, 409pp. (ISBN: 1859847129). Translated by Gregory Elliott. [Translation of Marx

l'intempsif, 1995.]

- “The Mole and the Locomotive”. Translation of Daniel Bensaïd’s introduction to his book: “Résistances. Essai de taupologie générale”, Fayard, Paris 2001. March 2001. Available on ESSF.
- Four contributions in Hearse, Phil (ed.), *Take power to change the world*, London: Socialist Resistance, 2007, 144 pp. Available on ESSF.
- “Leaps! Leaps! Leaps!”, in Sebastian Budgen, Stathis Kouvelakis, and Slavoj Žižek (eds), *Lenin Reloaded: Toward a Politics of Truth*, Durham: Duke University Press 2007, [Part 2: Lenin in Philosophy, pp. 148-163].
- “Thirty years after: A critical introduction to the Marxism of Ernest Mandel”, preface written for a new edition of Ernest Mandel’s *Introduction au marxisme* [“Introduction to Marxism” titled in *English From Class Society to Communism*], Fondation Léon Lesoil, 2007. English version and title of the preface from International Viewpoint. Available on ESSF.
- *Strategies of Resistance & ‘Who Are the Trotskyists ?’*, introduction by Paul Le Blanc, Socialist Resistance (London) and the International Institute for Research and Education (Amsterdam), Notebook for Study and Research no. 41/42: 2009, 182 p., £6. A collection of works including Bensaïd’s history of Trotskyism, newly translated into English by Nathan Rao.
- “An idea whose time has come”, in Daniel Bensaïd, Alda Sousa, Alan Thorne and others, *New Parties of the Left. Experiences from Europe*, 2011: Resistance Books (London), International Institute for Research & Education (Amsterdam, Islamabad & Manila), pp. 25-34. This is the translation from “Une idée qui a fait son chemin” published in France by les Editions Lignes in *Penser, agir* (2008).

Studies and reports

- *Revolutionary Strategy Today*, Notebooks for Study and Research n° 4, International Institute for Research and Education, Amsterdam 1987.
- *The formative years of the Fourth International (1933-1938)*, Notebooks for Study and Research n° 9, International Institute for Research and Education, Amsterdam 1988.
- “Alain Badiou and the Miracle of the Event”. Published as a chapter of *Thing Again, Alain Badiou and the Future of Philosophy*, edited by Peter Hallward, ed Continuum, Londres/New York 2004. Available on ESSF.
- “Hegemony and United Front. Working class, social movement, alliances - and the limits of radical democracy”, Summary of a contribution presented by Daniel Bensaïd, in the framework of the “strategy cycle” at the summer university of the LCR, August 24-29, 2007, ESSF. Translated into English by International Viewpoint. Available on ESSF.

Articles

Note: Daniel Bensaïd used pennames or organisational pseudonyms as (Daniel) Jebrac.

Marxism

- “The end of Althusser’s long march”, *International Viewpoint* n° 195, 26 November 1990.

- “The crisis of French Marxism”, *International Marxist Review*, n° 14, Winter 1992.
- In defense of communism, *International Viewpoint*, January 1999 [to be verified].
- “The Baggage of Exodus: Trotsky, revolutions and the constitution of original ‘Trotskyism’”, 2000. Available on ESSF.
- “Leninism in the 21st century: Leninism Today”, interview by Phil Hearse, *International Viewpoint* Online magazine : IV n° 335 - November 2001. Available on ESSF.
- “Leaps Leaps Leaps’: Lenin and politics”, *International Socialism* n° 95, July 2002. Available on ESSF.
- “The party and the period”, interview by *La Gauche* conducted during the Ernest Mandel Symposium held in Brussels on November 19th, 2005, *International Viewpoint* Online magazine, IV n° 376 - March 2006. Available on ESSF.
- “The fate of revolution in the 20th Century. Stalinism and Bolshevism”, written for the magazine *Erre* (Italy), December 2005. Available in English on ESSF.

Strategy

- (with Antoine Artous), “Marxist Strategy in Western Europe” *International Marxist Review*, vol. 2 n° 4, Winter 1987.
- “‘Open Dogmatism’: Five thesis of resistance”, written for the journal *Viento Sur*. Published in English by *International Viewpoint* Online magazine : IV362 - December 2004. Available on ESSF.
- “Screams and spit: Twelve comments plus one more, to continue the debate with John Holloway”, 2005. Available on ESSF.
- “On a Recent Book by John Holloway”. Translated by Peter Drucker. *Historical Materialism*, volume 13:4, 2005. Available on ESSF.
- “The return of strategy”, *International Socialism*, Issue: 113, Winter 2007. Reproduced under the tittle “On the return of the politico-strategic question” by *International Viewpoint* Online magazine : IV n°386 - February 2007. Available on ESSF.
- “It is time to define the strategy”, Interview conducted by André Perez, *Público*, 2nd October 2009. Translated into English by *International Viewpoint*. Available on ESSF.

Europe

- “How left is left in Europe? New Center, Third Way”, *Le Monde diplomatique* (English edition), December 1998. Available on ESSF.
- “Notes on recent developments in the European radical Left” [“Notes sur l’actualité”], *ContreTemps* n° 4 (new series), 4th quarter, 2009, pp 7-9. [Editorial article. Translation from French: Nathan Rao.]. Available on ESSF.

France

- “The desunion of the Left”, *Inprecor* n° 14 (new series), 13 Oct. 1977.

- Daniel Jebrac, "France. The austerity policies of the Mitterrand government", *International Viewpoint*, n°10, 5 July 1982, pp. 7-8.
- "Neo-Liberal Reform and Popular Rebellion", *New Left Review* I/215, January-February 1996. *
- "We are the heirs of May 68", *International Marxist Review*, vol. 3 n° 2, Autumn 1998.
- "Operation 'Bullshit Unlimited'", *International Viewpoint*, number 343, September 2002. Available on ESSF. [An article on the response of French intellectuals to the 'war on terror'.]
- Review: "Red and Black: Kristin Ross, *May 68 and its afterlives*, University of Chicago Press, 2002", in *Radical Philosophy* n° 119, May/June 2003, pp. 1-4.
- "Daniel Bensaïd on the possibilities for the LCR", Socialist Worker [UK] Issue: 1985 dated: 28 January 2006. [ESSF article 24001]
- "France: 'The question of a link between workers and students is immediate' ", Interview by Jim Wolfreys, *Socialist Worker*, March 2006. Reproduced by *International Viewpoint*. Available on ESSF.
- "The French elections and our strategic project", interview with Frank Godichaud, 23 April 2007, *International Viewpoint* Online magazine : IV388 - April 2007. Available on ESSF.
- Hélène Adam, Daniel Bensaïd, Léon Crémieux, François Coustal, Samuel Johsua, Alain Krivine, Martin Olivier, Pierre Rousset, François Sabado, Roseline Vachetta, "France: From the LCR to the NPA", 15 December 2008, ESSF. Available on ESSF.
- A page has been turned (the formation of the NPA), 2009, *Politis*, 5-11 February. English translation from the French by Nathan Rao available on ESSF.

Latin America

- Daniel Jebrac, "Argentine. Repercussions of the Malvinas war", *International Viewpoint*, n°10, 5 July 1982, pp. 12-13.
- Daniel Jebrac, "A new defeat for the Uruguayan junta", *International Viewpoint* n° 22, 24 Jan. 1983.
- Daniel Jebrac, "The outcome of the elections in Brazil", *International Viewpoint* n° 22, 24 Jan. 1983.
- Daniel Jebrac, "The Workers Party and the deepening crisis in Brazil", *International Viewpoint* n° 235, 1st Aug. 1992 ??.
- "Lula for president!", *International Viewpoint* n° 163, 15 May 1989.
- "Principles flouted: on the PT (Brazil)", *International Viewpoint* Online magazine : IV n° 343 - September 2002. Available on ESSF.

"Letter to the comrades of the Democracia socialista (DS-PT), Brazil" by LOWY Michael, BENSAÏD Daniel, LOUÇA Francisco, January 2005. Available on ESSF.

Other topics

Daniel Bensaïd has written on many other topics, including feminism and gender issues, ecology,

"identities" and the jewish question, the Middle-East, Palestine and Israel, history, law...

Most of his writings have not been translated into English. For more information, see the French bibliography.

IIRE (Amsterdam) archives: reports and reading materials

(to be completed)

IIRE Reading materials February- March 1992 number 13

The formative years of the Fourth International (1933-1938) (Excerpts) pp 1-7

"The revolutionary press". Reading Material (22/11/1984), IIRF, nov.-dec. 1984, Part 4: Party Building [IIRE - Folder Party Building] [author to be confirmed]

On Daniel Bensaïd

— "In defense of communism" [Review], *International Viewpoint* n° 307, XXX, 1999.

Articles in English available on ESSF

— February 2009, A page has been turned (the formation of the NPA)

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 December 2009 Notes on recent developments in the European radical Left

— BENSAÏD Daniel , PEREZ André - 2 October 2009 "It is time to define the strategy"

— ROUSSET Pierre , BENSAÏD Daniel , KRIVINE Alain , SABADO François , ADAM Hélène , VACHETTA Roseline , JOHSUA Samuel , CREMIEUX Léon , MARTIN Olivier , GUILLOTIN Jacqueline , POUPIN Christine , COUSTAL François - 15 December 2008 France: From the LCR to the NPA

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 27 August 2007 Hegemony and United Front

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 25 July 2007 Thirty years after: A critical introduction to the Marxism of Ernest Mandel

BENSAÏD Daniel , GAUDICHAUD Franck - 23 April 2007 The French elections and our strategic project

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 9 August 2006 On the return of the politico-strategic question

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 March 2006 France: "The question of a link between workers and students is immediate"

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 December 2005 Stalinism and Bolshevism

— BENSAÏD Daniel - 19 November 2005 The party and the period

— KOUVELAKIS Stathis , BENSAÏD Daniel , CALLINICOS Alex , LOUÇA Francisco , JERVOLINO

Domenico , FERNANDEZ BUEY Francisco - 1 May 2005 Why our German friends are wrong on EU Constitution

- LOWY Michael , BENSAÏD Daniel , LOUÇA Francisco - 1 January 2005 Letter to the comrades of the Democracia socialista (DS-PT), Brazil
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 2005 On a Recent Book by John Holloway
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 2005 Twelve comments plus one more, to continue the debate with John Holloway
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 December 2004 Five thesis of resistance
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 September 2002 Principles flouted: on the PT (Brazil)
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 18 August 2002 Operation 'Bullshit Unlimited'
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 July 2002 "Leaps Leaps Leaps": Lenin and politics
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 November 2001 Leninism Today
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 March 2001 The Mole and the Locomotive
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 2000 The Baggage of Exodus: Trotsky, revolutions and the constitution of original 'Trotskyism'
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 December 1998 How left is Left in Europe? New Centre, Third Way
 - BENSAÏD Daniel - 1 January 1996 France: Neo-Liberal Reform and Popular Rebellion
-

Dutch

Dutch-language Bensaïd archive:

Het Daniel Bensad Internet-Archief
<http://www.marxists.org/nederlands/bensaaid/index.htm>

De crisis van het Franse marxisme, 1993

Eén jaar na de aanslagen elf september - God, wat zijn die oorlogen heilig!, 2002

De angst haalt het van de hoop, 2003

De hogere macht van het communisme, 2010

Polish

- "O rewolucji, ruchu masowym i partii antykapitalistycznej w XXI w." (Révolution, mouvement de masse et parti anticapitaliste au XXI^e siècle), *Le Monde Diplomatique Edycja polska* [Polish edition], août 2009. Traduction du français par Zbigniew Kowalewski, d'un article sur le livre de Alain Badiou, *l'Hypothèse communiste* *.
 - "O strategii zmieniania swiata" ("On the strategy to change the world"), *Internacjornalista*, 21 August 2009:
http://www.internacionalista.pl/historia-i-wspoczesno/historia-doktryn-lewicowych/1323-daniel-bensa_id-o-strategii-zmieniania-wiata-.html
 - "Czas historyczny, rytmie polityczne" ("Historical times, political rhythms"), *Le Monde Diplomatique - Edycja polska* [Polish edition], no. 2 (36), February 2009,
<http://monde-diplomatique.pl/LMD38/index.php?id=19>
 - "Maciej Nowicki rozmawia z Danielem Bensaïdem: Liberalizm wchłonial lewice", ("Maciej Nowicki speaks to Daniel Bensaid: Libéralism has engulfed the left") [Interview], *Europa*, no. 262, 11 April 2009.
http://www.dziennik.pl/dziennik/europa/article359150/Liberalizm_wchlonal_lewice.html
 - "Nowa wojna trojańska, nowy internacjonalizm" ("New Trojan War, New Internationalism"""), *Rewolucja* no. 3, 2003.
-

Russian

- Daniel Bensaid, *Bolchevism' i 21 viek* (Bolchévisme et le 21-ème siècle), Svobodnoyé marksistskoyé izdatielstvo (Publishing House Free Marxists), Moscow 2009, ISBN 978-5-98063-019-5

This book contains translations of :

1. Krot i lokomotiv ("La taupe et la locomotive", "The Mole and the Locomotive", introduction to "Résistances - Essais de taupologie générale"), 2001. *
2. V zachtcitou kommunizma (In defense of communism), January 1999.
3. Bolchevism' i stalinizm, soudba revolutsii v 20 viekie, (Stalinism and Bolshevism, Bolchevisme et stalinisme), 2005. *
4. Skatchki ! Skatchki ! Skatchki ! Lénine i politika ("Leaps! Leaps! Leaps!", "« Les sauts ! Les sauts ! Les sauts ! » : Lénine et la politique"), 2002. *
5. O knigie Djona Holloueya "Imienits mir bez bzyatya vlasti" (On a recent book by John Holloway), 2005. *
6. Tiezisy soprotivlienia ("Five thesis of resistance"), 2004. *
7. Korotko o Biensaïdie - Alistier Suyffien, Piter Hollouard (A brief introduction to Daniel Bensaid - Alistair Swiffen, Peter Hallward), 2003. *

Turkish

- Daniel Bensaïd-Alain Krivine *1968 Son ve Devam*, (1968: Fins et suites), Octobre 2008. Yazın (Editions)
- Daniel Bensaïd *Köstebek ve Lokomotif- Tarih, Devrim ve Starateji Üzerine Denemeler* (La taupe et la locomotive- essais sur l'histoire, Révolution et Stratégie) . Preface Uraz Aydin. 240 page.
- Several articles in the magazine *Yeniyol* (Cours Nouveau)
- In November 2006, Daniel Bensaïd visited Istanbul. He gave several interviews, including one for the daily *Cumhuriyet* an for *Gelecek* , the monthly paper of the ÖDP.
- Brezilya: En uzun Grev, Ne Yapmalı, Ocak 1980 (Brésil : La grève des métallos a révélé les limites de la 'libéralisation')
- Bugün Hangi Sosyalizm, Yeniyol, Ekim 1996 (Quel socialisme aujourd'hui)
- Ekim 1917 Dersleri, Yeniyol, Ocak 1998 (Three myths about October 1917)
- IV. Enternasyonal 60 Yaşında, Yeniyol, Kasım-Aralık 1998 (Entre histoire et mémoire)
- Hasıraltı Edilen Devrim, Yeniyol, Kasım 1999 (La révolution escamotée)
- "Komünizmin Kara Kitabı"na Cevap, Yeniyol, Haziran 2000 (Communisme et stalinisme : un réponse au « Livre noir du communisme »)
- "Geç Kapitalizm"e Önsöz, Yeniyol, Kasım 2000 (L'héritage théorique d'Ernest Mandel)
- 21. Yüzyılda Leninizm, Yeniyol, Ocak 2003 (Leninism in the 21st century: Leninism Today - interview by Phil Hearse)
- 21. Yüzyıl İçin Sosyalizm, Yeniyol, Mayıs 2003 (Un socialisme pour le XXIe siècle)
- Ütopik Uğrak ve Stratejik Yeniden Yapılanma , Yeniyol, Yaz 2006 (Moment utopique et refondation stratégique)
- Sürgünün Bagajları: Troçki, Devrimler ve "Troçkizm"in Oluşumu , Yeniyol, Bahar 2007 (The Baggage of Exodus: Trotsky, revolutions and the constitution of original 'Trotskyism')
- Sosyal ve Siyasi bir Yeniden İnsanın Meydan Okumasıyla Karşı Karşıyayız , Yeniyol, Yaz 2007 (Nous sommes face au défi d'une reconstruction sociale et politique)
- XX. Yüzyılda Devrimin Yazgısı. Bolşevizm ve Stalinizm , Yeniyol, Güz 2007 (The fate of revolution in the 20th Century Stalinism and Bolshevism)
- Troçkizmlerin Mirası , Yeniyol, Bahar 2008 (« Les trotskysmes » : post-scriptum 2007 à l'édition italienne)

- “Bu -gerçekten- sadece bir başlangıç” , Yeniyol, Bahar 2009 (A l'heure de la crise capitaliste : « Ce n'est - vraiment - qu'un début »)
 - Marx'in Güncelliği Üzerine Daniel Bensaid ile Görüşme: “Mülksüzleştirilmişler” , Yeniyol, Bahar 2009 (« Les dépossédés » - Entrevue sur l'actualité de Marx dans la lutte anticapitaliste d'aujourd'hui et de demain - par Louise-Philippe Lavallée)
 - Hipotetik bir komünizm: Alain Badiou'nun Komünist Hipotezi Üzerine , Yeniyol, Yaz 2009 (Un communisme hypothétique: À propos de l'hypothèse communiste Alain Badiou)
-

Japanese

Daniel Bensai" d's works in Japanese (March 2010)
Compiled by Nobuo Yukawa (managing director of the Trotsky Institute, Tokyo) and Kenji Kunitomi (Japan Revolutionary Communist League)

Articles:

Considérations inactuelles sur 'l'actuel encore actif' du Manifeste communiste — Le Manifeste communiste 150 ans après. Quelle alternative au capitalisme ? Quelle émancipation humaine ?, Contributions : 6e dossier ?. 11-16 (polycopie'), 1998.
Japanese publication: "Shisou (Thoughts)", December 1998, published by Iwanami Shoten.

Communisme et stalinisme : un réponse au "Livre noir du communisme", Dossier, supplément à *Rouge* n° 1755, Paris 1997.
Japanese publication: "Torotsukii Kenkyu (Trotsky Studies)", No. 29, Summer 1999, published by the Trotsky Institute (Tokyo).

Temps de la résistance, temps de l'utopie.
Japanese publication: "Jyoukyou(Situation)", special issue, November 2000, published by Jyoukyou-shuppan.

Le nouveau discours de la guerre, le discours prononcé pour la conférence a la Maison franco-japonaise de Tokyo en Octobre 2002.
Japanese publication: 'Atarashii sensou no disukuuru' in "Kitarubeki minshushugui", December 2003, published by Fujiwara-shoten.

The fate of revolution in the 20th century: on Leon Trotsky's 'Stalinism and Bolshevism', 2007(?).
Japanese publication: "Torotsukii Kenkyu (Trotsky Studies)", No. 50, Spring & Summer 2007, published by the Trotsky Institute (Tokyo).

Thirty years after: a critical introduction to the Marxism of Ernest Mandel

Japanese publication: "Torotsukii Kenkyu (Trotsky Studies)", No. 51, Autumn & Winter 2007, published by the Trotsky Institute (Tokyo).

L'Etat, la démocratie, et la révolution: retour sur Lénine et 1917, 2007.

Japanese publication: "News Letter", No. 46, March 2008, published by the Trotsky Institute (Tokyo).

Books:

Portugal, une révolution en marche (en collaboration avec Charles-André Udry et Michael Löwy), Paris, 10/18, 1975.
Published by the Tsuge Publishers in 1976.

Le retour de la question sociale (en collaboration avec Christophe Aguiton), Editions Page 2 : Lausanne 1997.
Published by the New Tsuge Publishers in 2001.

Le Nouvel internationalisme. Contre les guerres impériales et la privatisation du monde, Textuel : Paris 2003, 190 p.
Published by the New Tsuge Publishers in 2009.

Articles published on the "World Revolution" and "Kakehashi (Bridge)" after 1993:

On the March general elections of France: "World Revolution", No. 1282, March 15, 1993

L'héritage théorique d'Ernest Mandel /1er septembre 1995
"World Revolution", No. 1404, September 18, 1995

Questions d'Octobre : la révolution russe était-elle un coup d'Etat, condamné et prémature ? /12 octobre 1997
"Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1513, December 8, 1997

Concerning the statement of Subcomandante Marcos on "The fourth world war has begun": "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1535, May 25, 1998

Symposium at the 150th anniversary of the "Communist Manifest":
"Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1539, June 22, 1998

On the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Fourth International: "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1569, February 1, 1999

60 years after the assassination of Leon Trotsky: "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No.

The new generation and the LCR at the presidential election, :
"Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1743, August 12, 2002

Sur le Parti des Travailleurs (PT) brésilien /2 août 2002
or Principles flouted: on the PT (Brazil) /1 September 2002
"Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1749, September 30, 2002

BENSAID Daniel's report on the current situation of the European Leftist movement at Tokyo: "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1761-2, 1764, January 1 and 20, 2003

On the role of the revolutionary organization today: "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1949, October 23, 2006

The presidential election and the French Socialist Party: "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 1976, May 14, 2007

On the death of Pierre Lambert(jointly with A. Krivine): "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 2007, March 10, 2008

Hegemony and united front: "Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 2094/2095. "October 5 and 12, 2009"Notes on recent developments in the European radical Left /1 "December 2009:"Kakehashi (Bridge)", No. 2110, February 1, 2010.

Note

* Available on ESSF website in part or totally.